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ABSTRACT

A study that examined two speech events, "giving testimony" and "being interviewed," was conducted to test the relevance of the "ethnography of speaking" approach to communication research proposed by Dell H. Hymes. These speech events occur when someone seeks information from another for a formal purpose. The study analyzed one speech act within each speech event for each of two participants in a job-related legal controversy. Following Hymes' methodology, the following components of the speech acts were identified: situation, or setting and scene; participants; ends in view; act sequence, or message form and content; key, or tone; instrumentalities, or channels and forms of speech; norms of interaction and interpretation; and genres. Results indicated that once a speech act has been identified as belonging to the "giving testimony" genre, all other speech act components can be predicted. Similarly, once a speech act has been identified as a member of the "being interviewed" genre, all components, with the exception of setting, can be predicted. The findings suggest that Hymes' methodology neglects the relationship of the speaker to the content of the speech act--a component that influences speech act form. (DF)

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ETHNOGRAPHIC ANALYSES OF COMMUNICATION EVENTS

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> Both in linguistics and in social science, the roles of language in human life usually are assumed or asserted. Research that seeks the actual ranges and kinds of meaning that speaking and languages have, and the conditions that support or frustrate each, has hardly begun. (Hymes, 1971, p. 49)

Introduction

According to Berreman (1972) the essential dilemma in "ethnoscience/anthropology" is "how to be scientific and at the same time retain the humanistic insights--the human relevance--without which no account of human beings makes sense" (p. 224). This dilemma is reflected in the continuing debate between communication scholars who label themselves "rhetoricians" and those who label themselves "social scientists." Berreman believes this dilemma can be solved:

> if we take as the relevant question not whether to be rigorous or insightful, scientific, or humanistic, but rather, how to be both--how to develop a methodology which is at once subject to verification and conducive to perceptive insights in the study of man. (p. 224)

The ethnography of speaking, with its roots in ethnography, anthropological linguistics, and sociolinguistics, is a relatively new discipline which attempts to answer Berreman's challenge. It focuses upon speech acts and communication events and, thus, provides valuable insights as well as methological precision for anyone interested in the study of communication.

The paper will present an overview of the discipline of the ethnography of speaking and review its current research focus. A methodology proposed by Dell Hymes, one of the advocates of the study of the ethnography of speaking, will be used to analyze two communicative events, giving testimony and being interviewed, in order to determine whether or not this method is a useful tool for communication research.

Ethnography: The Roots of an Ethnography of Speaking

Ethnography is:

> a discipline which seeks to account for the behavior of a people by describing the socially acquired and shared knowledge, or culture, that enables members of the society to behave in ways deemed appropriate by their fellows. . . . The ethnographer, like the linguist, seeks to describe an infinite set of variable messages as manifestations of a finite shared code, the code

> being a set of rules for the socially appropriate construction and interpretation of messages. (Frake, 1969b, p. 123)

In other words, in order to do an ethnography of a group of people, an anthropologist directly observes their behavior over a long period of time. From these observations, the anthropologist makes precise statements about the particular group and about human behavior in general (Agar, 1974). Although we traditionally think of anthropologists working in cultures other than their own, they may work in their own society. Working in one's own society, however, may be a help or a hindrance. Agar (1974) notes that "if [an anthropologist] works in his own society, he understands something initially, although his stereotypes and prejudices as a member of the same society can make this initial understanding more of a liability than an asset" (p. 3).

Whether working in their own or another culture, the goal of ethnographers is to understand what behavior means to members of the community being observed (Frake, 1962; Sturtevant, 1972; Agar, 1974). This understanding is accomplished partly by what Turner (1967) refers to as the "ethnographic eye"--attending to the microstructure of interaction in search of its structural properties. An ethnographer then formulates "an operationally-explicit methodology for discerning how people construe their world of experience from the way they talk about it" (Frake, 1962, p. 74). Thus, an ethnographer attempts to move from what Pike (1966) calls an etic or outside the system viewpoint to an emic or inside the system view. This leads to complex descriptions of terminological systems, firewood, pottery, verbal play, and other similar systems.

After describing these "accomplishments" of ethnography, Berreman (1972) notes:

> They remind me of Mill's warning that many sociologists have gotten to the point where they overlook what is important in their search for what is verifiable, and that some of them break down the units of analysis so minutely that truth and falsity are no longer distinguishable. Many have worked so hard on what is trivial that it comes to appear important--or at least triviality and importance become indistinguishable when fitted into the molds of formal analysis. (p. 229)

The ethnography of speaking attempts to overcome this "triviality" by focusing on the communication situation in its total context (Southworth and Daswani, 1974).

The Ethnography of Speaking: An Overview

In various publications, Hymes, the foremost proponent of the ethnography of speaking, notes that it is:

> (1) concerned with the situations and uses, the patterns and functions, of speaking in its own right (1962, p. 16);

(2) the study of the organization of verbal means and the ends they serve, while bearing in mind the ultimate integration of these means and ends with communicative means and ends generally (1974, p. 8); and

(3) a theory of speech as a system of cultural behavior; a system not necessarily exotic, but necessarily concerned with the organization of diversity (1971, p. 51).

Whereas ethnography notes that people gossip, interpret, insult, advise, inquire and so on, the ethnography of speaking attempts to describe these events and explicitly formulate what constitutes these acts in the terminology of a theory of speech (Hymes, 1971). Thus, the two fundamental steps of an ethnography of speaking are: (1) to identify what can count as an instance of a factor relevant to communication and (2) to discover the relations between such factors. As Saussure was concerned with the word and Chomsky with the sentence, the ethnography of speaking is concerned with the act of speech (Hymes, 1971).

The following chart places the study of the ethnography of speaking in a historical perspective relative to the principal trends in Western linguistics.

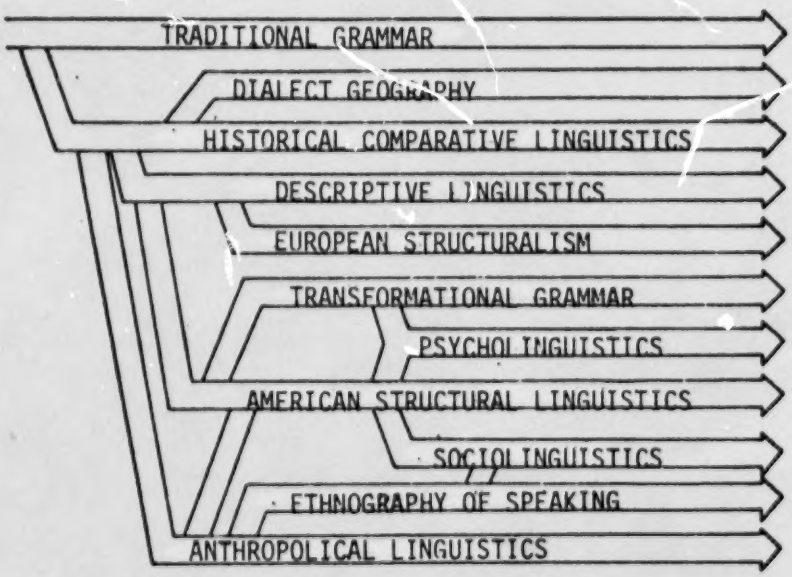

Figure 1. Principal trends in Western linguistics. (From Southworth and Daswani, 1974, p. 8.)

According to Southworth and Daswani (1974), the ethnography of communication, a subfield of cultural anthropology, "embraces all studies of the correlation between linguistic behavior and other social behavior, either in individual societies or in a cross-cultural sense" (p. 237). Whereas sociolinguistics seeks to understand competence and performance in relation to each other, the ethnography of speaking focuses on the communication situation in its total context. It asks questions such as: (1) Who are the participants in terms of their social background? (2) What is their relationship to each other? (3) What kind of interaction are they involved in? (4) What effects do these various social factors have on the form of linguistic utterances which occur in the situation? (Southworth and Daswani, 1974, p. 235).

Hymes (1971) conceives of sociolinguistics as the "most recent and most common term for an area of research that links linguistics with anthropology and sociology" (p. 47). In a later work, Hymes (1974) adds that "sociolinguistics, conceived in terms of the ethnography of speaking, is ultimately part of the study of communication as a whole" (p. 9). He further notes that:

> In order to develop models, or theories, of the interaction of language and social life, there must be adequate descriptions of that interaction, and such descriptions call for an approach that partly links, but partly cuts across, partly builds between the ordinary practices of the disciplines [linguistics and sociolinguistics] to answer new questions and give familiar questions a novel focus. Such work is the essence of what may be called the ethnography (or ethnology) of speaking and communication, as an approach within the general field of sociolinguistics. (p. 32)

In order to accomplish this "cross-cutting," the ethnography of speaking focuses on the communicative event. As an example of one approach within this framework, Hymes (1974) sets up a hierarchy of speech situations (for example, a party), speech events (a conversation during that party), and speech acts (a joke told during that conversation). These events, however, are not examined in isolation. Hymes (1974) maintains that "facets of the cultural values and beliefs, social institutions and forms, roles and personalities, history and ecology of a community may have to be examined in their bearing on communicative events and patterns" (p. 4). This idea does not suggest, however, that researchers should consider all behavior as communication. Hymes (1962) warns that:

> A necessary step is to place speaking within a hierarchy of inclusiveness: not all behavior is communicative, from the viewpoint of the participants; not all communication is linguistic; and linguistic means include more than speech. One can ask of an activity or situation: is there a communicative act (to oneself or another) or not? If there is, is the means linguistic or non-linguistic (gesture, body-movement) or both? In a given case, one of the alternatives may be necessary, or optional, or proscribed. (p. 23)

The Ethnography of Speaking Approach of Dell Hymes

Hymes (1974) maintains that:

> Studies of social contexts and functions of communication, if divorced from the means that serve them, are as little to the purpose as are studies of communicative means, if divorced from the contexts and functions they serve. Methodologically, of course, it is not a matter of limiting a structural perspective inspired by linguistics to a particular component of communication, but of extending it to the whole. (p. 5)

In order to accomplish this, Hymes (1974) focuses on speech acts within speech events. Speech events are "activities, or aspects of activities, that are directly governed by rules or norms for the use of speech. An event may consist of a single speech act, but will often comprise several" (p. 52). A speech act "is the minimal term of the set just discussed. . . . It represents a level distinct from the sentence, and not identifiable with any single portion of other levels of grammar, nor with segments of any particular size defined in terms of other levels of grammar" (p. 52).

Once the speech act within the speech event is identified, the various components of the speech act are identified using the following mnemonic device:

S(ituation--setting and scene)
P(articipants)
E(nds in view--goals--and in outcome)
A(ct sequence--message form and message content)
K(ey--tone)
I(nstrumentalities--channels and forms of speech)
N(orms of interaction and interpretation)
G(enres).*

Then the "functional foci" of the act are identified using "the etic grid." The following chart lists the possible functions of a communicative event; for example, if a message focuses on the sender of the message (such as "I hurt myself!") it is considered "expressive."

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*For a complete description of this method, see Hymes (1974).

The "Etic Grid"

Focus on the:	Type of functions:
Addressor (sender)	Expressive
Addressee (receiver)	Directive
Channels	Contact (phatic)
Codes	Metalinguistic
Settings	Contextual
Message-form	Poetic (stylistic)
Topic	Referential
Event itself	Metacommunicative

(Adapted from Hymes, 1974, pp. 22-24.)

Hymes (1974) notes that "the 'etic grid' serves only to help perceive kinds of functions that may be present, and possibly to facilitate comparison" (p. 22).

Speech acts may be viewed both paradigmatically "in terms of sets of speech acts among which choices can be considered to have been made at given points" and syntagmatically "as a sequence of such choices, or such sets of possible choices."

After each speech act is coded, Hymes looks for patterns either in the presence or absence of a particular component of the speech act ("SPEAKING"). He claims that "in general, one can think of any change in a component as a potential locus for application for a 'sociolinguistic' commutation test: What relevant contrast, if any, is present?" (1974, p. 62). In addition, "many generalizations about rules of speaking will take the form of statements of relationships among components. It is not yet clear that there is any priority to be assigned to particular components in such statements. So far as one can tell at present, any component may be taken as starting point, and the others viewed in relation to it" (p. 63).

Thus, the end result of this analysis is a set of rules which describe the presence and/or absence of various components in a speech event and the relationships among these components. In this way, similar speech events may be compared cross-culturally, or different speech events within the same culture may be compared.

An Ethnographic Analysis of Two Speech Events

In order to test the relevance of Hymes' approach to communication research, two speech acts within speech events described as "giving testimony" and "being interviewed" were examined using Hymes' (1974) methodology to determine the differences and similarities between them.

The particular events examined in this paper are part of the data gathered by a National Science Foundation-sponsored research team investigating a "whistle-blowing" incident at the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) system in 1972.* Three engineers were fired for allegedly disrupting the testing of BART's automatic train control system by voicing organizational concerns through the news media. The engineers sued BART in 1973-74. At that time, each of the principals in the lawsuit filed a sworn deposition. In 1977-78, the NSF-sponsored research team interviewed by telephone a number of the principal persons involved in the BART incident. Thus, there exists for several participants both a formal court deposition taken in 1973-74 and a rather informal interview transcribed in 1977-78 describing each person's participation in an incident in 1972.

The present analysis focused on two of the participants--one of the fired engineers and the general manager of the BART system at the time the engineers were fired. The reports of these two individuals were chosen because they were both centrally involved in the incident and held clearly opposing views.

Two speech events were identified in the present study--"giving testimony" as evidenced by the actual court depositions which were filed in the Superior Court of Alameda County, California in 1973-74 and "being interviewed" as evidenced by the interview transcripts. For purposes of analysis, one speech act within each speech event was identified. Two criteria were used to pick the speech acts used for analysis: (1) each act had to be a unified description of an event, that is, it was clear that, at the beginning of his narration, the speaker had started a new topic and, at the end of his narration, was moving on to another topic; and (2) the same topic was discussed in both the court deposition and the interview given by the same person. Using these criteria, four speech acts were identified, two for the engineer and two for the general manager. The speech acts identified for the engineer concerned a series of meetings he had, before he was fired, with a member of the BART Board of Directors. The speech acts identified for the general manager concerned a series of meetings he had with the engineer prior to the engineer's firing. (The speech acts are reproduced in the Appendix.)

According to Hymes' methodology, the components of the speech acts ("SPEAKING") were the identified:

Situation. The setting and scene for the two speech events (and, thus, the speech acts within the events) varied greatly. "Giving testimony" in the court depositions was a serious legal procedure. The witness was "examined and interrogated" by the opposing lawyer in the opposing lawyer's office. The witness was, thus, not only in unfamiliar territory,

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*This research was funded by National Science Foundation Grant OSS76-14230.

but in territory controlled by his adversary. Testimony was taken under oath; it had the same sanctity as if the witness were testifying in a court of law and could be used as evidence in court. In our culture, such a speech act is considered "legal" and, thus, formal. In general, a person rarely participates in such an act and, thus, it may be inferred, that this unfamiliar situation is rather frightening for the witness. The situation may be unclear to a witness who had never testified before. These observations are supported by the following excerpt from the beginning of the engineer's deposition:

> Attorney: Mr. _____, part of your deposition Notice requested that you bring with you certain documents which we have described in the Notice. Have you brought some documents in response to that request?
> Witness: A couple.
> Attorney: Pardon?
> Witness: A couple.
> Attorney: May I see them?
> Witness: Let's see, that wasn't considered part of my---
> Court reporter: Would you keep your voice up, please?
> Witness: I don't know what I'm supposed to be doing. I mean what I'm testifying. The questions you asked me---

Thus, "giving testimony" was a formal, legal procedure in which trained attorneys confronted "untrained" witnesses.

"Being interviewed," in this instance, occurred over the telephone with the interviewees either at home or in their own office and, thus, in familiar, comfortable surroundings. Both interviewees were told by their interviewers that they could stop the interviews anytime they felt tired. The interviewers also emphasized that they were interested in getting the interviewee's "own side of the story" so that it could be presented fairly. Thus, unlike "giving testimony," "being interviewed" was defined by the situation as informal and comfortable.

Participants. In general, "giving testimony" involves, minimally, the following participants: the witness or person who is testifying; the questioner, usually the opposing attorney; and an audience composed of the witness' own attorney and the court reporter who records the entire transaction. These participants were present during the sample of "giving testimony" examined in this paper.

The interview involves, minimally, two participants: the interviewee (in this case, the same person who was the witness who gave testimony) and the interviewer or questioner.

Ends in view and ends in outcome. The ends in outcome of the "giving testimony" and "being interviewed" speech acts were outwardly similar. The outcome of "giving testimony" was a typed court deposition (a transcription of what the participants said) which was read and signed by the witness and filed with the court before the case came to trial. In this case, the outcome of "being interviewed" was a typed transcript

of what was said during the interview. The interviewee, however, did not see this outcome since it was not considered an "official document."

The ends in view (goals) of the "giving testimony" and "being interviewed" speech acts were very different. The explicit goal of "giving testimony" was to obtain answers to question which could be used as evidence in court. In addition, a person could be called to give testimony in order to frighten him or in order to show his lawyer that his case is flawed. In "giving testimony," the questioner (attorney) and the witness not only have different goals, but they have goals which are, by definition, conflicting. The attorney wants the witness to reveal something which can be used against him, while the witness wants to give only those answers which will support his own side of the controversy.

Generally, the goal of an interview is to gather information for some purpose which is usually described to the interviewee. This purpose may or may not be supported by the interviewee. Thus, unlike "giving testimony" where the questioner and witness always have different goals, in "being interviewed" the interviewer and interviewee may or may not have different goals. The goal of the interviews, in this instance, was to gather information in order to write an account of the BART incident which represented each side fairly. It is assumed that the interviewer and the interviewee had the same goal and, thus, that the interviewee was motivated to provide a complete description of "his side of the story."

Act sequence. Hymes (1974) does not provide a specific methodology for analyzing the two components of act sequence--message form and message content. In order to analyze message form, the present researcher used Allen's (1972) four classifications of sentence types: declarative (makes a statement or states a fact), interrogative (asks a question), imperative (gives a command or request), and exclamatory (expresses strong feeling). The sentences in each of the four speech acts were coded into these categories.

In both the "giving testimony" and "being interviewed" speech acts, the vast majority of sentences were declarative. Two sentences in the engineer's testimony were interrogative; both sentences were used to check the accuracy of what the questioner said. An exclamatory sentence in the "giving testimony" speech acts occurred when the general manager could not remember his former employee's exact job title. The only instance of a sentence which was not declarative in the "being interviewed" speech acts occurred when the engineer was describing a conversation he had had with another BART employer who did not seem to understand why he had borrowed a particular book. Although, the differences here are small due to the small sample size, "giving testimony" speech acts contained more departures from a declarative message form than "being interviewed" speech acts. The only non-declarative sentence in the "being interviewed" speech acts was a reported statement made in a previous conversation. Although the reported statement was exclamatory, the message form of the report was declarative.

The above analysis focuses upon the witness/interviewee. Focusing upon the questioner, it is apparent that the questioner in the "giving testimony" speech acts asked considerably more questions than the interviewer in the "being interviewed" speech acts. Each act examined contained a discussion of one topic. During "giving testimony" about one topic, the questioner asked the engineer 21 questions; during "being interviewed" about the same topic, the interviewee switched topics without the interviewer asking him another question. In the sample of "giving testimony" examined for the general manager, the questioner asked him 14 questions; the interviewer in "being interviewed" asked him one question. Thus, in the "giving testimony" speech acts the questioner asked considerably more questions than the interviewer did in the "being interviewed" speech acts.

Message content (topic) is the second component of the act sequence. Due to the way these particular speech acts were chosen, the speakers did not change topic. Each speech act was a narration of a particular incident.

Key. The tone of both the "giving testimony" and "being interviewed" speech acts was serious. Neither participant joked or used any apparent sarcasm in either speech act. Every question was answered directly.

Instrumentalities. Hymes (1974) discusses two instrumentalities--channels and forms of speech. In the "giving testimony" and "being interviewed" speech acts, the channel was the oral channel used for speaking. In the "being interviewed" speech acts examined here, however, the message exchange occurred over the telephone. Thus, the only nonverbal cues available to the interactants were paralinguistic. It is apparent, therefore, that aspects of the channel can vary for "being interviewed" speech acts while they cannot vary for "giving testimony" speech acts. "Giving testimony" is always a face-to-face interaction, whereas "being interviewed" may occur face-to-face, on the telephone, and, occasionally, in writing. In both these cases, the form of speech was standard English.

Norms. In the "giving testimony" speech act, one of the norms of interaction was to answer only the question which was asked. This norm is expressed in the following excerpt from the general manager's deposition:

> Attorney: Have you discussed the facts concerning this lawsuit with counsel or with anybody else prior to this deposition?
> Witness: Very briefly this morning, just to refresh my own memory. Looked at a few---
> Attorney: Just yes or no.
> Witness: Yes.

Another norm, answer as briefly as possible, was reflected in short sentences followed by further questions from the questioner. In the "being interviewed" speech act, answers were given in series of sentences encouraged by the interviewer's "uh-huh's" or "okay's". Speakers in neither

type of speech act asked questions of their questioners except for clarification.

Genres. The speech acts analyzed here have previously been classified into the genres of "giving testimony" and "being interviewed."

An examination of these speech acts with the etic grid reveals that both the "giving testimony" and "being interviewed" speech acts had their primary functional focus on topic. In all four speech acts analyzed, the speakers were recounting events in the past "to the best of their recollection." They were instructed by their questioners to focus on the topic under discussion. The questioners were interested in the speakers' memory of what happened. Speakers were never asked to comment upon the interaction itself.

Conclusions

Hymes (1974) suggests that the final step in the analysis of speech acts is to look for patterns among the components. From the analysis presented earlier, both the speech acts of "giving testimony" and "being interviewed" serve a referential, that is, content-related, function. They both occur when someone wants to receive information from another person for a formal, stated purpose. The speech acts analyzed in this paper were chosen because they were instances of two distinct genres of speech events, "giving testimony" and "being interviewed."

Once a speech act is identified as a member of the genre "giving testimony," all other components can be predicted. The channel must be oral speech delivered in a serious manner (key) in a face-to-face interaction. (The pervasiveness of this rule can be demonstrated by imagining sung testimony.) The form of speech required is standard English. Speakers who ordinarily do not use standard English are at a disadvantage in any legal situation. Since the witness is charged with answering specific questions, the message form consists of declarative sentences. Questions, commands, and exclamations are clearly inappropriate. The setting is also prescribed by the genre, as are the participants. The psychological scene may differ somewhat for participants who have given testimony previously, but experience with any other type of speech event does not have the same effect. The purpose (outcome) of "giving testimony" is always a written deposition. The goals of the two participants in "giving testimony," as mentioned previously, are always in conflict. The norms of interaction (above and beyond those of ordinary conversation, such as "only answer the question") are also prescribed by the genre. Thus, if a researcher knows that a person is "giving testimony," he/she can make many clear predictions about the specific nature of that speech event.

Similarly, once a speech act is identified as belonging to the genre "being interviewed", the channel, form of speech, message form, participants,

purposes, and norms can be predicted. Unlike "giving testimony," however, identifying a speech act as "being interviewed" does not enable the researcher to specifically predict setting or scene. A person can be interviewed at home, at work, over the phone, in person, in many settings. The scene may be informal or formal, although from the speech acts examined here, it ppears that an interviewee tends to answer questions in a formal manner (for example, with few exclamations) even when the interviewer attempts to define the interaction informally. The level of formality with which an interviewee answers an interviewer's questions may depend, to some extent, upon the goals of the interviewee and interviewer and upon whether or not these goals are conflicting. If the interviewee's and interviewer's goals are similar (such as presenting the interviewee's side of a story), the interviewee may use more formal and precise speech so that the interviewer will be able to clearly present his ideas. The level of formality may also depend upon the purpose of the interview. An interviewee may speak more formally if he knows that his words will be transcribed. These are tentative conclusions which may or may not be supported by further research. The communication researcher may, thus, make consistent predictions about all components of speech events defined as "being interviewed" except setting and scene.

This analysis was limited to four relatively short speech acts within two speech events, "giving testimony" and "being interviewed." A further limitation is that the "being interviewed" speech act occurred during a telephone interview, thus limiting the communicative cues available to the interactants. Due to this limitation, the conclusions in this paper may not be generalizable to face-to-face interviews. It is possible that interviewee's responses are more formal over the telephone than in face-to-face interactions because they are not able to see the interviewee's reactions to their statements. Further research is needed to verify this proposition.

Even with these limitations, it is apparent from the analysis presented in this paper that Hymes' (1974) methodology neglects one component of speech acts which has an influence on their form. This component is the relationship between the speaker and the content of the speech act. This relationship may vary in time (temporally) and in psychological proximity. Temporally, a speaker may be discussing a recent event or one which happened in the distant past. In the speech acts analyzed for this paper, "giving testimony" occurred one year after the event being discussed and "being interviewed" occurred five years after the event. This temporal distance may account, in part, for the difference in speech forms observed. Perhaps witnesses used more non-declarative sentences in the speech act "giving testimony" because the speech act occurred closer in time to the incident being discussed than the speech act "being interviewed." The witnesses were, presumably, more involved with the event at that point in time. The relationship between a speaker and the content of a speech act may also vary in psychological proximity. The speaker may be recounting an incident in which he was involved, an incident which he observed but did not participate in, or an incident which someone told him about. Many of the similarities observed in the analysis of "giving testimony" and "being interviewed" may be due, in part, to the fact that the speakers in each speech act were discussing an event in which they participated.

Implications

Hymes (1971) maintains that researchers should "insist on understanding discourse structures as situated, that is, as pertaining to cultural and personal occasions in which part of their meaning and structure lies" (p. 62). The present study attempted to examine speech acts situated within specific speech events defined by our culture. The major conclusion of the analysis was that once a researcher identifies a speech act as belonging to the genres of "giving testimony" and "being interviewed" the form of many of the other components of the speech act can be predicted. In our culture, interactions defined by these two genres take on specific, predictable forms.

The present analysis was very limited in scope, comparing only four separate speech acts from two genres, but it can, nevertheless, serve as a suggestion of further research possibilities. Hymes (1971) notes that two sources of political interest and support for the study of the ethnography of speaking are (1) language problems of developing nations, and (2) problems of education and social relations in highly urbanized societies such as England and the United States. The present analysis focuses on the latter area and pinpoints some potential problems. For example, as a formal, legal procedure the genre of "giving testimony" calls for the use of standard English. It is apparent, however, that many speakers called to give testimony do not commonly use standard English. Research needs to be done to explore the effects of using nonstandard English when giving testimony. This may make a significant contribution to the outcome of a case, presumably unfavorable to the nonstandard speaker. Another area of research interest is what happens when a speaker, for whatever reason, violates the norms of the interaction. In the genres discussed in this paper, serious violations of the norms would cause a complete breakdown of the interaction. An interviewer could no longer interview someone who would not answer questions.

In addition, Hymes' (1974) etic grid categorizes the function of a message based upon the focus of the message. For example, a message which focuses upon the receiver of the message (such as "I hope he understands these instructions") is considered directive. This coding scheme emphasizes both the content and intent of a message. Such a scheme would be useful in the study of interactions such as the study of relational communication. Further work needs to be done in order to validate the etic grid and to test its usefulness for communication research.

Further research also needs to be conducted on speech events other than those identified as "giving testimony" and "being interviewed." Hymes' (1974) methodology should be applied to speech events such as "having a conversation" and "participating in a group discussion" in order to determine if it could yield valuable insights into these communication situations.

Hymes (1974) maintains that:

> there are anthropological, sociological, and psychological studies of many kinds, but of ethnographic analyses of communicative conduct, and of comparative studies based upon them, there are still too few to find. (p. 6)

Hopefully, research aimed at answering some of the questions raised in this paper will help to contradict this statement.

APPENDIX

Interviewer (R): Well OK all right. Meantime uh when we did contact Helix that here's a politician that wants to get the facts.

Interviewee (E): Mhmm.

E: Uh this term "system engineering" came up in some of our discussions. Uh and this I don't know whether Max or myself or just actually when you start discussing these things, he got outside people that worked with computer systems. This was the whole concept. This is a computer system and it's not being properly taken care of.

R: Mhmm.

E: Uh a friend of his that worked at Berkeley and different places and some of them met us and we discussed these things. And I remembered a basic book that came out years ago on system engineering. And I knew one of these people had one so I asked him one day if I could borrow it. Well I borrowed it to copy one of the general chapters at the end or beginning. This was what system engineering and management should know. And this is what happens during the design phase and the phases of both the installation and operation, the problems that they could come into. You know 20 or 25 pages or so.

R: Mhmm.

E: And uh when we got down to this final showdown meeting and we were on on guard to expect a call from Helix to see if chairman of the Board would allow us to appear and expose ourselves and tell our sad tale.

R: Mhmm.

E: And we also had our regular weekly meeting scheduled downstairs in the Lake Merit uh uh headquarters building that day. Uh while we were waiting for the meeting or we we had agreed we'd talk to people and see if if we were called if some of these other people would come up. They knew that that was on the agenda that day.

R: Right.

E: At the weekly Board meeting. And and in doing that uh I guess my even approaching them on something like that uh this was a Chinese fellow in particular who had this book. He was in charge of the communications

R: Mhmm.

E: area was concerned. Uh he made some comment uh "you've been involved" or something like that. And I said ya why in hell did you think I got this system engineering book

R: Ya.

E: for

R: Ya.

E: Oh that's

R: Ya.

E: I wanted that to give to Helix.

Interviewer: OK. From the time when the 3 were identified, did you ever personally sit down and talk with them about their behavior or about the technical issues?

Interviewee: Well, yes, I specifically talked with Bruder and arranged for him to, that same day, I believe, to have a conference with Mr. Hammond and Mr. Tillman and others, I believe, and that was followed up by a further and more detailed conference. And Mr. Bruder again was still lying at the time, and apparently, as I recall, and again with difficulties, but declined to produce certain back-up documents and information which he was asked to produce. And it was only sometime after that that--and when I say sometime, I'm not sure whether it was days or a few days or several days, he was, in fact, identified as one of those who had been engaged in these activities, and he was, then, on the recommendation of Tillman, fired along with the other two.

Question (Q): Can you tell me who attended the next meeting, that you recall?

Answer (A): Well, I think it was the same people plus some other computer specialist, that he knew from outside experience. I forget the fellow's name.

Q: Helix knew?

A: Right.

Q: From a computer specialist?

A: Right.

Q: This was somebody that Mr. Helix brought in to the meeting?

A: Right. Another reference point to the technologies--in other words, it was somebody that he knew personally or had confidence in.

Q: You don't recall who that person was?

A: No, I don't. He worked at Berkeley, at the University. In what capacity, I really don't know. Whether he was of the operations or teaching, I really don't remember the name. I'd never met him before, I have never seen him since.

Q: Does the name Boutell ring a bell?

A: Boutell?

Q: Boutell.

A: Not particularly. I'm not saying that wasn't the name, but I just don't remember names.

Q: But your understanding was that he was in the Berkeley administration somewhere?

A: He had knowledge and experience and was working in the computer field, yeah.

Q: What transpired at this second meeting--well, first of all where was it held?

A: The Concord Inn.

Q: Again at the Concord Inn?

A: Right.

Q: Did you ever attend a meeting at Helix' office?

A: I had been to Helix' office a lot, but as far as a meeting I don't remember anything.

Q: How long after the first meeting did this second meeting take place?

A: Oh, probably within a week or two, I don't know.

Q: What took place at that meeting?

A: The more definitive, laying out of questions that Helix could try to get answers to at BART; that he could get a better feel and reaction from BART really what was going on.

Q: In other words, Helix was trying to define questions to propose to BART?

A: Yeah.

Q: And he was--

A: Answers to which I got the implication would either back up the report or knock it apart.

Q: I see. And how did Helix conduct the meeting? Did he just say what questions should we ask, or what?

A: Well, generally, yeah. He tried to get it down in a piece of paper in some reasonable grouping and fashion, make sure we weren't duplicating.

Q: Was Mr. Helix given any documents at the first meeting that you recall?

A: Not that I recall. I don't say he didn't.

Q: You didn't give him any documentation?

A: I didn't, no.

Q: What about at the second meeting?

A: Yeah.

Q: What was he given at the second meeting?

A: He was given the first and the last chapter out of Danny Lee's System Engineering book.

Q: You gave him that?

A: Yeah.

Q: Mr Lee had written a book?

A: No, no. He had a copy of a professional book called SYSTEMS ENGINEERING; okay? And I had used it from time to time as a reference, and to me at this point it was a matter of educating Mr. Helix to what the normals were and what the systems engineering and what the systems were all about, and the first chapter happened to be a general discussion, and the last chapter happened to be a discussion including testing techniques, so that was my method of giving him some reference materials either to back up my statements or, if he had the time or inclination, he could sit down and inform himself, have a reference point with some confidence of what we were all talking about or what was involved.

General Manager's Deposition

Question (Q): You said you had at least one and perhaps two or three separate meetings with Mr. Bruder?

Answer (A): (Witness nods head.)

Q: Let's take the first meeting that you recall; do you have any recollection as to when that meeting would have taken place?

A: No.

Q: Does February 1972 sound right?

A: I don't know. I really don't recall.

Q: Do you have any recollection of who else was present at the first meeting besides yourself and Mr. Bruder?

A: No. We were not alone, I can assure you, but I don't know who else was there.

Q: Do you recall how the meeting was initiated?

A: I believe at his request.

Q: What is your recollection of the events discussed at that meeting?

A: I have really no firm recollection, except that I believe he initiated the request that it was a rather rambling conversation, that it had nothing to do with the train control aspects of the problem as we have been talking about in these other matters. And that he was unhappy with his job as a, I believe, as an inspector or an area supervisor or some damn thing on various construction type contracts with BART.

Q: So your recollection is that he came in to complain about his job?

A: This was the gist of the conversation, as I recall.

Q: You recall him saying that he was unhappy with his job?

A: He was unhappy or dissatisfied with some of the procedures which he felt were wrong in the things he was assigned to do, as I recall.

Q: So then he wasn't asking you to transfer him to another job. He was asking you to, in essence, to rectify certain procedures which he felt were in need of change?

A: He didn't even ask that. My recollection, again, was a very rambling conversation, which I very frankly wondered what the point of it was when we were all finished.

Q: But you do recall having another meeting with him after that?

A: At least one more, perhaps two more. I'm not sure which.

Q: Those meetings followed within a couple of days of the first one?

A: Right.

Q: What was the purpose of the second meeting?

A: I think more of the same kind of thing. I eventually, in consonance with what I have said earlier, arranged meetings for him with Mr. Hammond, Mr. Tillman, Mr. Findell, all of the people he worked with, so he'd have a chance to lay out for them his concerns, which I felt he had a perfect right to lay out.

Q: Do you recall specifically the names of any other persons besides yourself and Mr. Bruder present at any of those meetings that you had with--

A: I don't. I can tell you I was never by myself in those meetings, but I cannot tell you who was there.

Q: Have you told me everything you can recollect about the substance of each of those meetings?

A: Yes.

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